

Message Text

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USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

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AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

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FOL RPT USUN 6886 ACTION SECSTATE DEC 18 QTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 6886

DEPT PLS PASS TO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PARM CCD UN

SUBJ: UNGA DISARMAMENT 1975: REVIEW AND ASSESSMENT

SUMMARY: THE 1975 UNGA DISARMAMENT DEBATE PRODUCED A RECORD TWENTY-FIVERESOLUTIONS THAT WILL REQAIRE AN UNUSUAL AMOUNT OF FOLLOW-UP WORK DURING 1976. THE ASSEMBLY GAVE LESS ATTENTION THAN IT DID LAST YEAR TO NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION ISSUES, REFLECTING IN PART NONALIGNED DISSATISFACTION WITH THE RESULTS OF THE MAY 1975 NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE. AMONG THE RESOLUTIONS SUPPORTED BY THE US WERE ONES CALLING ON THE CCD TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS ON ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND A CONSENSUS RESOLUTION ON NAPALM AND OTHER INCEDIARIES. THE US ABSTAINED ON RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING THE COMPREHENISVE TEST BAN ISSUE AND PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EC-PLOSIIONS, AND VOTED AGAINST A RESOLUTION ON SALT AND ONE DEFINING NWS (NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES) OBLIGATIONS TOWARD NWFS (NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREE ZONE) PARTIES. THE US ALSO ABSTAINED ON A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR AN OVERALL REVIEW OF THE ROLE OF THE UN IN DISARMAMEMNT WHICH MAY FORCE SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE CCD. END SUMMARY:

1. ROLE OF THE UN. AMONG SIGNS OF MOUNTING DISSATISFACTION OVER THE STATE OF MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT EFFORTS, THE ASSEMBLY ADOPTED A SWEDISH RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING A NEW AD HOC COMMITTEE OPEN TO ALL UN MEMBER STATES AND CHARGED WITH A BROAD MANDATE TO REVIEW THE ROLE OF THE UN IN DISARMAMENT. THE COMMITTEE IS SCHEDULED TO MEET DURING JANUARY, MAY, AND AUGUST AND TO REPORT RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE 1976 UNGA. IT IS LIKELY TO PROVIDE A FORUM FOR
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CONCENTRATED CRITICISM OF THE CCD, PARTICULARLY THE US-SOVIET CO-CHAIRPANSHIP, AND MAY LEAD TO PRESSURE TO BRING THE CCD UNDER THE DIRECT AUTHORITY OF THE UNGA OR EVEN TO REPLACE IT WITH A NEW BODY. THE US, UK AND USSR WERE AMONG THE FEW DELEGATIONS THAT ABSTAINED.

2. ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION. US AND SOVIET DELEGATIONS DEVELOPED A PROCEDURAL RESOLUTION THAT (1) TOOK NOTE OF US-AUSSR TABLING AT THE CCD OF IDENTICAL DRAFT TEXTS OF A CONVENTION ON MILITARY AND OTHER HOSTILE USE OF ENMOD AND (2) ASKED THE CCD TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS ON SUCH A CONVENTION WITH A VIEW TO REACHING EARLY AGREEMENT, IF POSSIBLE BY 1976. THE RESOLUTION, INCORPORATING SOME MINOR CHANGES PROPOSED BY ARGENTINA AND

SWEDEN, WAS ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS. EXCEPT FOR FINLAND AND AUSTRALIA, NON-CCD MEMBER COUNTRIES SHOWED LITTLE INTEREST IN ENMOD. SWEDEN SUGGESTED SEVERAL SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE US-SOVIET DRAFT TREATY.

3. CHEMICAL WEAPONS. NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE POLES, CANADIANS AND NON-ALIGNED RESULTED IN A PROCEDURAL CW RESOLUTION SIMILAR TO LAST YEAR'S AND KEEPING ALL NEGOTIATING OPTIONS OPEN AT THE CCD. THE RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS. SEVERAL DELEGATIONS MADE THE POINT THAT PROGRESS ON CW WOULD DEPEND ON US-SOVIET ACTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE 1974 SUMMIT STATEMENT REGARDING A JOINT INITIATIVE.

4. REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS. A SWEDISH-MEXICAN RESOLUTION CALLED FOR AN EXPERTS' STUDY OF TECHNICAL ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE DEFINITION AND COMPARATIVE MEASUREMENT OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES, AS A NECESSARY STEP TOWARD MAKING AGREED MILITARY EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS POSSIBLE. THE STUDY AND ITS TERMS OF REFERENCE AS SET OUT IN THE RESOLUTION WERE DIRECTLY BASED ON A US INITIATIVE AT THE CCD THIS SUMMER. ALTHOUGH WE ABSTAINED ON THE RESOLUTION BECAUSE IT CALLED ON THE US AND USSR TO REDUCE THEIR MILITARY BUDGETS PENDING AGREED LIMITATIONS, WE INDICATED OUR WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY. THE SOVIETS ALSO ABSTAINED, CHARGING THAT THE STUDY WAS A DIVERSION FROM IMPLEMENTATION OF THEIR 1973 PROPOSAL FOR A TEN PERCENT REDUCTION OF THE MILITARY BUDGETS OF THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

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5. PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS. AS ORIGINALLY INTRODUCED, A RESOLUTION ON PNES PREPARED PRIMARILY BY THE NETHERLANDS AND CANADA PROVIDED A USEFUL ENDORSEMENT OF THE CONSIDERATION OF PNES, INCLUDING THEIR ARMS CONTROL IMPLICATIONS, AT THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE, THE CCD, AND THE IAEA, AND A CALL FOR CONTINUED WORK IN THE FIELD. TO AVOID A FLOOR FIGHT, THE SPONSORS ACCEPTED A NUMBER OF AMENDMENTS PRESSED BY MEXICO THAT SIGNIFICANTLY ALTERED THE CHARACTER OF THE RESOLUTION, IN PARTICULARLY BY IMPLYING THAT THE US AND USSR HAD FAILED TO CARRY OUT A COMMITMENT TO ENTER INTO CONSULTATIONS TOWARD A SPECIAL BASIC AGREEMENT FOR THE PROVISION OF PNE SERVICES UNDER ARTICLE V OF THE NPT. WE ABSTAINED (AS DID THE SOVIETS) ON THE BASIS OF THIS LANGUAGE, EXPRESSING CONCERN ALSO OVER THE IMPLICATION THAT THE ONGOING WORK AT IAEA WAS INSUFFICIENT AND SHOULD BE SUPPLEMENTED BY ACTIVITY OUTSIDE THE AGENCY. HOWEVER, WE EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR SOME POSITIVE ELEMENTS OF THE RESOLUTION, WHICH WAS ADOPTED BY A VOTE OF 97 TO 5 (INDIA), WITH 24 ABSTENTIONS. (NOTE: ALL VOTES REFER TO PLENARY.)

6. NUCLEAR TESTING. THE ASSEMBLY ADOPTED TWO SOMWHAT

CONTRADICTORY RESOLUTIONS ON THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN (CTB) ISSUE. A RESOLUTION DRAFTED BY AUSTRALIA AND REVISED BY MEXICO CONDEMNED ALL NUCLEAR-WEAPON TESTS, EMPHASIZED THE URGENCY OF A CTB, AND CALLED FOR AN INTERIM "AGREED SUSPENSION" OF TESTS BY ALL NWS, BEARING IN MIND THE "PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITY" OF NWS NPT PARTIES. UNDER THREAT OF A NEGATIVE US VOTE THE COSPONSORS AGREED TO REFER TO AN "EFFECTIVE" CTB. ON THIS BASIS THE US ABSTAINED, EXPLAINING THAT IN OUR VIEW AN EFFECTIVE CTB WOULD REQUIRE RESOLUTION OF VERIFICATION PROBLEMS, INCLUDING THOSE TO BE SOLVED IF PNES WERE PERMITTED UNDER A COMPREHENSIVE BAN. THE US VOTED NO IN A SEPARATE VOTE ON THE PARAGRAPH CONDEMNING NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS. THE RESOLUTION WAS A WHOLE WAS APPROVED, 106-2(CHINA, ALBANIA)-24 (US, UK, FRANCE, USSR).

7. THE OTHER CTB RESOLUTION, A SOVIET INITIATIVE, CALLED ON ALL NES AND 25-30 NNWS TO BEGIN NEGOTIATING A CONFIDENTIAL

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CTB TREATY NO LATER THAN MARCH 31, 1976(NNWS WERE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE AT MEXICAN INSISTENCE). BY CALLING FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL NWS, THE SOVIET RESOLUTION IMPLICITLY REJECTED THE AUSTRALIAN RESOLUTIONS AFFIRMATION OF THE "PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITY" OF THE NWS PARTY TO THE NPT. BY CALLING FOR CTB NEGOTIATIONS IN A NEW BODY, THE SOVIET RESOLUTION APPEARED TO REMOVE THE ISSUE FROM THE CCD, IN CONTRAST TO THE AUSTRALIAN RESOLUTION, WHICH ASKED THE CCD TO GIVE "HIGHEST PRIORITY" TO A CTB TREATY. THESE CONSIDERATIONS WERE REFLECTED IN A HIGH NUMBER OF ABSTENTIONS ON THE SOVIET DRAFT, WHICH WAS APPROVED, 94-2(CHINA, ALBANIA)-34(US, EC-9, SWEDEN).

8. NUCLEAR WEAPON-FREE ZONES. THERE WAS CLEARLY LESS INTEREST IN THIS SUBJECT THAN LAST YEAR. RESOLUTIONS ON PROPOSED ZONES FOR THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA, AND SOUTH ASIA WERE ESSENTIALLY HOLDING ACTIONS, REAFFIRMING OBJECTIVES BUT NOT SEEKING TO PROMOTE PRACTICAL STEPS BY STATES IN THE REGIONS TO PROCEED WITH NWFZ NEGOTIATIONS. THE ONLY NEW REGIONAL PROPOSAL, FOR A NWFZ IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC, WAS APPROVED WITH A NUMBER OF KEY ABSTENTIONS, INCLUDING THE UK, FRANCE, AND USSR. A ROMANIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION REVIVING THE IDEA OF A BALKAN NWFZ WAS OPPOSED BY VIRTUALLY ALL OTHER STATES IN THE REGION AND WAS WITHDRAWN. MEXICO OFFERED A CONTENTIOUS RESOLUTION WHICH, AMONG OTHER THINGS, ASSERTED THAT "RECOGNITION" BY THE UNGA IS A BASIC ELEMENT OF A NWFZ AND DEFINED NWS "OBLIGATIONS" TOWARD ZONES. STRONG US OBJECTION TO THE RESOLUTION, SHARED BY THE UK, FRANCE, USSR, AND SOME NONALIGNED,

CONTRIBUTED TO THE RESOLUTION'S POOR SHOWING 82-10(US AND THE EC-9)-36(USSR)). A FINNISH RESOLUTION REQUESTING GOVERNMENTAL VIEWS ON NWFZ ISSUES WAS APPROVED BY A UNANIMOUS VOTE.

9. OTHER NUCLEAR ISSUES. MEXICO AND SWEDEN COSPONSORED A RESOLUTION ON THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS THAT "REGRETTED" THE "LACK OF POSITIVE RESULTS" IN THE PAST TWO YEARS AND "/COMPLETE ABSENCE OF QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS". AT OUR STRONG URGING, THE SOVIETS CONFIDENTIAL

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JOINED US IN VOTING AGAINST THE RESOLUTION. ON THE OTHER HAND, SEVERAL OF OUR ALLIES VOTED IN FAVOR. PAKISTAN TOOK THE LEAD IN PROMOTING A RESOLUTION ON NWS SECURITY ASSURANCES TOWARD AN NWS. WHILE THERE WAS WIDESPREAD SUPPORT AMONG THE NONALIGNED FOR SOME TYPE OF NON-USE PLEDGE, AGREEMENT COULD NOT BE REACHED ON A FORMULATION THAT WOULD SATISFY THE VARIED REQUIREMENTS OF THE RESOLUTIONS' POTENTIAL SUPPORTERS.

10. NEW WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. A SOVIET RESOLUTION CALLING FOR NEGOTIATION OF A CONVENTION PROHIBITING THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND NEW SYSTEMS OF SUCH WEAPONS WAS BETTER RECEIVED THAN THE SOVIET CTB INITIATIVE. HOWEVER, IT FAILED TO GENERATE MUCH INTEREST AND WAS SEEN BY SOME AS A DIVERSION FROM MORE IMPORTANT ISEUES. THE SOVIETS WERE UNWILLING TO MODIFY THE RESOLUTION TO MAKE IT ACCEPTABLE TO US, FOR EXAMPLE BY DROPPING THE ASSERTION OF THE "NECESSITY" OF CONCLUDING SUCH A CONVENTION. THE FINAL VOTE WAS 112 TO 1 (ALBANIA), WITH 15 ABSTENTIONS (US AND EC-9).

11. NAPALM AND OTHER INCENDIARIES. FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1971, WHEN THIS ITEM WAS MADE A SUBJECT OF UNGA CONSIDERATION, A RESOLUTION WAS DEVELOPED ON WHICH THE US COULD JOIN A CONSENSUS. THE RESOLUTION, INTRODUCED BY SWEDEN, INVITED THE DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE ON HUMANITARIAN LAW IN ARMED CONFLICT TO CONTINUE ITS SEARCH FOR AGREEMENT FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS ON POSSIBLE PROHIBITION OF RESTRICTION OF USE OF INCENDIARIES AND CERTAIN OTHER CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS, INCLUDING ANY THAT MAY BE DEEMED INDISCRIMINATE OR EXCESSIVELY INJURIOUS. THE SPECIFICATION THAT SUCH PROHIBITION OR RESTRICTION WOULD BE "FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS" REMOVED POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS AS TO THE LEGALITY OF PAST USE OF THE WEAPONS UNDER CONSIDERATION.

12. WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. ARGENTINA INTRODUCED A PROCEDURAL RESOLUTION KEEPING THE WDC AD HOC

COMMITTEE IN BEING FOR ONE MORE YEAR UNDER ITS EXIST-
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ING MANDATE (WHICH INCORPORATES A CONSENSUS PROCEDURE
INCLUDING THE NUCLEAR POWERS). THE RESOLUTION WAS
ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS. SEVERAL DELEGATIONS NOTED, HOW-
EVER, THAT LACKING PROGRESS TOWARD A WDC IN 1976,
THEY WOULD CALL FOR A SPECIAL UNGA SESSION ON DISARMA-
MENT IN 1977.

13. SEABED ARMS CONTROL TREATY. THE ASSEMBLY ADOPTED,
126(US)-0-2, A PROCEDURAL RESOLUTION REQUESTING THE
SECRETARIAT TO BEGIN PREPARATIONS FOR THE REVIEW CON-
FERENCE REQUIRED BY THE SEABED TREATY. A PREPARATORY
COMMITTEE OPEN TO ALL PARTIES WILL MEET EARLY IN 1977,
WITH THE REVCON ITSELF SCHEDULED FOR LATE AUGUST 1977.
MOYNIHAN UNQTE
KISSINGER

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